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173 Nje[1] horsemen, and owing to this circumstance they derived
614 their nickname of *Bin shio* or relatives of flying ants. It will be observed that the clan titles are nowadays believed to have been derived from the names borne by the reputed founders of the clan, but there is evidence that some at least of the clan titles were formerly place names.

614 *Clan Emblems and Taboos.*—Some of the Katab clans have,
784 as we shall see, certain animal or plant taboos, but these do not appear to be closely associated with the system of clan exogamy or to play a prominent part in maintaining the sense of relationship between the members of the clan. We have seen that the Aku bear the nickname of "flying ants" and, although the flying ant is not an Aku emblem, we are reminded of Andrew Lang's view that totems were originally sobriquets. It does
614 not appear that the Aku have any general taboo other than the
784 male shea tree (*nensham*). This tree may be cut down, but its wood may not be used for burning. If an Aku were to eat food
824 cooked over a fire in which *nensham* wood had been used his body would become covered with sores. The leaves of this tree are used as a taboo, and no Aku woman would dare enter a house if the owner had placed a bunch of *nensham* leaves at the door.

614 The Agbat clan respects the crocodile (*tsang*). It is their
784 friend and brother (*nanyuk*) and on it oaths are sworn. An Agbat, it is said, can play unharmed with a crocodile in the water. If he sees its dead body he hastily retreats, or buries it.
825 He will not even touch a piece of crocodile skin. If he kills a crocodile by accident he must hurry off to the forest for some special medicine; if he kills it by design the entire clan will, it is believed, perish. The reason assigned for this association is that once in ancient times the Katab were flying from their enemies and came to an unfordable river. Crocodiles formed a bridge for the Agbat, but swam away when the other Katab clans tried to cross by the same means. An Agbat can frighten a crocodile by merely calling out the name of some other clan

[1] A variant account says that Agbat and his people were out hunting and came across the men of Shokwa who were performing certain religious rites. As Agbat passed them his horse's hoof made a hole in the ground, and out of this hole sprang Aku. Aku joined in the religious dance of the Shokwa, and was immediately acclaimed as a brother. There is a curious parallel to this story given in Hutton's *The Sema Nagas*, p. 124. Mr. Hutton says: "The Asimi abstain from eating winged ants. The reason given is that their first ancestors emerged from the earth."

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than his own. There does not appear to be any belief nowadays that an Agbat, on dying, turns into a crocodile, but it was stated that when an old Agbat man dies his friends sing: "The water is all astir—the crocodile is entering." An Agbat woman does not cease to respect the crocodile on her marriage, and it was said that the son of an Agbat woman, though he takes his exogamic unit from his father, shows respect to his mother's totem as well as to his father's. The Agbat also, apparently, respect the leopard. If an Agbat kills a leopard he is required by custom to perform certain rites designed to protect him from the ghost of the dead animal. He sends a friend or relative to a neighbouring tribe (Kagoro) for medicine, some of which he drinks and some of which he smears on his body. He will not eat leopard's flesh or wear a leopard's skin. The reason now assigned for this respect is that once in bygone days an Agbat ate leopard's flesh and his body became covered with boils. The conception of non-respect for a totem causing boils is common and is also found in other parts of the world (e.g. among the Melanesians of New Guinea). The Agbat do not call themselves "Leopards", but they state that in battle they were always put in the van, and as they rushed forward they shouted "We are leopards; we cannot run away".

The Shokwa clan respect the *tatong*, one of the lizard family. The association of the *tatong* with the Shokwa clan was begun, it is said, in the following way. Shokwa, the founder of the clan, was sitting alone in his house lighting a fire. A *tatong*, hearing the noise, came and spoke to Shokwa, asking who he was and where were his relatives. Shokwa replied that he had no relatives, and the *tatong* then assured him that God would increase his family. This prophecy came true, and Shokwa ordered all his children to respect the *tatong* for all time. And so no man of Shokwa may injure a *tatong*, and if he finds one he takes it to the priestly head of the Kuzat family who houses it in a granary, feeds it with beniseed and finally releases it with blessings. For the Shokwa regard the *tatong* as a relative, and if they find the body of a dead *tatong* will cover it with earth reverently, holding a funeral feast as they would for one of their old men. Should a Shokwa man kill a *tatong* accidentally rain would fall, even in the middle of the dry season. The most binding oath a Shokwa can

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614 784 825 make is by the *tatong*. The respect shown by the Shokwa is shared by all the Katab clans, and any member of another clan living near Shokwa who accidentally killed a *tatong* would take its body to Shokwa for burial. The Shokwa people do not, however, call themselves by the name of their emblem animal. On the contrary, the *tatong's* name is taboo.

614 784 824 The Aswen subdivision of Minyam respects a certain large tree at Kibori. This tree is known as " the husband of Aswen ", and rites are regularly performed at its base. There was formerly another tree of the same species at Kibori, which was the original object of worship and was known as " the mother of Aswen ". It was destroyed by fire some forty years ago, and it is said [766] that as it fell it gave a mighty shout. The whole of the Aswen sub-clan assembled, and a funeral feast was held with beer-drinking, dancing, and music (horn band), and the death of the tree was lamented as that of some great chief. The grove round the remaining tree is taboo. No one may enter it with an axe, and every November at harvest first-fruit rites are performed at the base of the tree. The space round the tree is cleared. [782] The headman of Aswen leads the procession of grown-up men, and when they come to the tree all kneel down and salute it twice by touching the ground and then the forehead. The head of the sub-clan offers a petition to the tree for the welfare of the clan and then smears the trunk with a porridge made from new millet (*digitaria*) and pours libations of beer. These rites are performed in the evening, and a dance and feast follow and are kept up until the following night. No female or young person is allowed to approach the vicinity of the tree. The sub-clan does not respect all trees of the same species, and we cannot, therefore, regard the particular tree as a totem, though the title " Mother of Aswen " would suggest that the sub-clan regard the tree as its ancestor. Possibly we have here an instance of a totem in the making, so that in time all trees of the species will become sacred to the Aswen.

613 583 *Sub-clans and Kindreds.*—The principal clans, viz. Minyam and Agbat, have subdivisions which may be described as sub-clans, the characteristic feature of the sub-clan being that it constitutes a wife-stealing unit *vis-à-vis* any other sub-clan of the same clan. The sub-clan appears to have come into existence by a [616] process of fission which in the first instance resulted in a dual

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621 the same group as you give your daughters you might be marrying
582 a relative forbidden by the "clan" rule. Moreover, a mother and daughter might be lodged in the same household or family as the respective wives of two brothers or cousins). Secondly, it prevents hostility (which wife-stealing entails) with a group many of whose members are married to your daughters.

583 A few words may be said about the marriage arrangements. Marriage with girls is of the so-called "purchase" type, coupled with some spasmodic agricultural service rendered to the girl's parents or guardians. The purchase amounts to little, taking the form merely of gifts of a hoe, beer, and meat, a return present of cooked beans being given by the girl's family. Later, gifts of beniseed and two chickens are given, cooked beans being again given in return. When the girl is ready for marriage she receives the elaborate body-marks mentioned in the Katab report. The final gifts are one goat and six chickens, after which the girl is taken to the husband's home, a marriage feast being held. It is noteworthy that girls are only given in marriage about the month of October. Marriage by elopement is arranged by the couple themselves, but the abductor nowadays first secures by gifts the good offices of the woman's parents. Formerly it was customary for a man to abduct the wife of a member of another town and subsequently to obtain by gifts the consent of her parents. There is no marriage by exchange among the Kagoro.
[604] A maternal uncle may help his sister's son to procure a wife, but among the Kagoro the maternal uncle has no great authority.
[431] If a boy is successful in hunting he gives the head to the maternal uncle, who in return presents him with a goat or hoe and an arrow to replace the one expended in bringing down the quarry.
[582 A man may marry into his mother's ward, but he must avoid
602] immediate blood relatives of his mother. The relationship system is identical with that of the Katab.

Animal Emblems.—In Fadan Kagoro the people of the Lawat
●825 ward appear to associate themselves with a certain species of
582 snake. If this snake passes the door of a Lawat's house it is
621 said to be a portent of death. No Lawat may kill this snake,
[761] but members of the associated wards of Agwam and Kadau may. The Mingyuo are said to respect the bush cat, and the Mungwop the chameleon. If a Mungwap killed a chameleon the heads of his children would, at birth, be covered with sores. The

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Mungwap of Agbam also respect the chameleon, and, as the two groups believe themselves to be related and refrain from intermarriage and wife-stealing, they are apparently localized groups of a single clan. On the other hand the Akumat, who do not intermarry with the Mungwop, on the ground of a common origin, do not appear to respect the chameleon. Both the Pagwar and Kachan, who refrain from intermarriage, respect a harmless species of snake which is allowed to live in the house of the priestly family of Pagwar. It appears, therefore, that on the whole the " totemic " groups do not coincide with the exogamous groups, and that if society was organized formerly on a totemic basis the totemism has broken down.

Each ward has its headman or " father " who is the controller of festivals and chief priest. If any member of the wards has been successful in hunting he brings the quarry to the " father " to cook. After it is cooked the " father " sprinkles some digitaria millet over it, and petitions God (Gwaza) to give the hunter further success. He then distributes it among the members of his own and the hunter's family. The man who provided the hunter with the poison by which the animal was shot is given the skin. Even in the ward of the central chief the ward " father " retains his ancient rights. He is the representative of the oldest generation and may therefore be a comparatively young man.

In olden days each ward settled its own affairs without reference to any outside authority, for the tribe had no central organization until it came under the influence of the Kachichere Habe of Kajuru—from whom the sword which is the emblem of chieftainship was originally obtained. If a member of one ward killed a member of another, open warfare usually ensued between the two wards. The Mingyuo ward is the priestly ward for Fadan Kagoro. They are the first to plant their crops, and are the leaders in the rites observed in connection with the harvest and the annual hunting battue. The Kagoro, however, like the Katab, do not seem to be strongly imbued with religious ideas, and there is a singular absence of organized religion. There are not, therefore, any elaborate initiation rites such as are found among their neighbours the Jaba.

The Kagoro were head-hunters. When a warrior obtained a head he put it in his bag and carried it home, where he was received with great rejoicing, the townspeople greeting him

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The Kaje

The Kaje, who call themselves the Baju, are situated to the south-west of the Katab, and are split in two by the Zaria Plateau provincial boundary, half the tribe being under the Emir of Zaria and the other half under the Emir of Jemaa. The tribe was originally wholly administered by Zaria, being directly responsible to the Galadima of that city, and the present unfortunate bisection dates back to that period of last century when the establishment of the Fulani at Jemaa led to a reshuffling of the districts.

The Kaje consist of six localized groups, as follows:

(1) The Baiduang, inhabiting the villages of Zonkwa, Zuturu, Kurmin Bi, and Madauchi (Zaria Province).
(2) The Baintso, inhabiting the villages of Fadan Kaje, Tsofon Gidda, Fadia, Rimfa, Kafó, Zagwom (Zaria Province).
(3) The Baimbin, inhabiting the villages of Aduang, Suriang, Wadong, Kan-Kadong (Plateau Province).
(4) The Bainturung, inhabiting the villages of Duwhan, Vontong, Abet, Kanyem, Abong (Plateau Province).
(5) The Batadon, inhabiting the villages of Madakia, Azufwo, Kukwan, Furjam, Giddan Atang, Vumpang, Pong, Sosun, Kumantso, Dichodon, Zat, Zankiruwa (Plateau Province).
(6) The Banewhan, inhabiting the villages of Katsuk, Zubong, Marsa, Afana, Zamberkpat, Bakin Kogi, Rakawan, Chenchuk, Kurdan, Ataiechap, Kamerun, Rikeakwon, Zauru (Plateau Province).

These six divisions may be described as village confederacies, for they are not "clans" in the accepted sense of being exogamous units. Certain informants of the Baiduang group stated that in former times no Baiduang man could marry a Baiduang woman, and a villager of Fadia informed me that he had been told by his father that formerly it was not permissible for any Faida man to marry any woman of the Baintso group. If this information is correct it would appear that the Kaje formerly had an exogamous clan organization which has only broken down in recent times. It has given place to a modified form of exogamy, based on the kinship, real or fictitious, of the local group inhabiting a single village-area. I was unable to obtain any clear evidence that village confederacies had also been totemic. It was stated that the Baiduang respected the leopard, but there was no evidence that the leopard was a totem, though one informant

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621 825 stated that leopards embodied the souls of Baiduang ancestors. Another informant stated that the *tatong* was taboo to all Baiduang and if one was caught it was taken to the Shokwa priest of the Katab tribe, an indication, perhaps, that some sections of the Kaje and some of the Katab at one time formed a single social unit.

Several of the Baintso stated that the crocodile was formerly respected by all members of the Baintso village confederacy; anyone who ate crocodile's flesh would break out into sores and die; and the use of crocodile's skin was taboo. They added, however, that the respect for the crocodile had waned. The Kaje sing numerous songs in honour of the crested crane, but this bird did not appear to be the emblem of any particular social group. It is possible that the Kaje village confederacies were totemic as well as exogamous, but if so it is clear that the clan totemism, like the clan exogamy, has now broken down.

621 582 There is one interesting and important feature about the village confederacy organization just described which would suggest that this organization may never have had anything to do with exogamy, but came into existence purely as a wife-stealing confederation. I refer to the rule that among the Kaje a member of a village confederacy may not elope with the wife of another member of the same village confederacy, e.g. a Baiduang may not elope with the wife of a Baiduang. This rule may be due to the circumstance that as the local village groups of a confederacy intermarry into each other, wife-stealing within the confederacy would lead to incestuous unions. But it is possible to look at the matter from another angle and to trace from two wife-stealing confederacies the origin of a single exogamous clan. To take an example:—

A is a wife-stealing confederacy and the members of A steal the wives of the members of B, another wife-stealing confederacy. In time B, being the weaker, suggests to A that instead of stealing each other's wives they should marry each other's daughters. Men of A would cease to marry girls of A, as those girls would have to be given to B. And thus A and B which were formerly wife-stealing confederacies would become exogamous clans. It may be objected that this is pure assumption. But as instances were found among the Kagoro of two villages agreeing to give up the practice of eloping with each other's wives and to marry

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maternal first, second, or third cousins. It would appear that there is a tendency for the village-area exogamous group to identify itself with a certain animal. The people of Kurmin Bi bury their dead in the skin of a leopard on the ground that the leopard is their relative and that they become leopards at death. It was said that the people of Zonkwa for the same reason bury their dead in the skin of a red monkey, and those of Madauchi in the skin of a cat. The people of Fadia were said to wrap their dead first in a leopard's skin and then in that of a red monkey, possibly because they are of mixed origin. Unfortunately time did not allow me to follow up this line of inquiry.

Wife-abduction is not permitted between members of the same confederacy, i.e. a Baiduang may not steal the wife of a Baiduang. But normally a member of one confederacy may elope with the wife of a member of any other confederacy, e.g. a Bainturu may elope with the wife of a Banewhan. There are exceptions, however, to this rule, for two towns belonging to different confederacies may, if they are situated close to each other, agree together not to elope with each other's wives. Thus the men of Kurmin Bi (Baiduang) refrain from abducting the wives of men of Fadan Kaje (Baintso) and vice versa, on the ground that these two villages are situated close to each other. Similarly the men of Fadia (Baintso) refrain from eloping with the wives of the men of Zonkwa (Baiduang). A Zonkwa man also avoids eloping with the wives of men of Tsofon Gidda (Baintso) and vice versa. We can see here a process going on which might quite conceivably result in the Baiduang and Baintso becoming two intermarrying exogamous clans.

The Kaje relationship terminology is practically the same as that of the Katab except for the dialectical differences, which are as follows :—

Katab.	*Kaje.*
Atio	Ati (possessive atienzuk)
Ayang	Na
Ngwan	Kawon
Nanyuk	Awum
Atiowhop	Atiokwop
Ayangowhop	Nakwop
Kambwon	Kambwon
Aniat	Anian

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MORWA

one or more of his sons to a brother or half-brother who has no children of his own. This is considered a duty, and it is said to be good for the boy as he will be more strictly brought up by his paternal uncle than by his own father. In such cases the paternal uncle arranges the boy's marriage, and the boy is expected to look after his paternal uncle in his old age. His father has no further control over him. Occasionally a Morwa will send a son temporarily to his wife's family. But it is not the custom (as occasionally among the Hausa) to hand over a son to a friend who is not a close relative.

Clan emblems appear to be non-existent except among the Agbat, who respect the python. No one will eat leopard's flesh unless in conjunction with a protective medicine of pumpkin leaves. It is interesting to note that the skins of leopards have to be handed over to the Chawai chiefs, an indication that the Morwa are intruders into Chawai country.

The Morwa culture resembles that of the Katab. They wear the "tail" described in the Katab report, and it might have been added there that, according to Driberg, the Lango of Uganda formerly wore "a broad leathern tail covering both buttocks and studded with pieces of metal". Incidentally the same author records that unmarried girls among the Lango (and apparently also among the Bari) wear aprons of small metal chains. The Ganawuri, who are the immediate neighbours of the Morwa, have also this custom which appears to be unique in Nigeria.[1]

Religion.—As already stated the principal priestly family lives at Kisagwai near Manchok. The cult is principally animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March) the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed. A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits, a custom which links the Morwa with the Semi-Bantu speaking groups. In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town. The lintel of the door of the priest's house at Kisagwai is decorated with a black cross. There is the same rule among the Morwa as among the Kagoro, that no one may enter a priest's hut or

[1] But it is found among the Tur of the British Cameroons.

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Jaba

up, and as showing also the effect which modern conditions have on the social organization of primitive tribes. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know what regard, if any, missionaries pay to the local laws of exogamy in arranging marriages between converts, inasmuch as intermarriage of persons of the same social group is viewed by the natives as repulsive and incestuous, and people who contract such marriages are regarded as bringing pollution on the entire community.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally. A man may, therefore, marry a woman of his mother's ward; but the usual rule applies that he must avoid marrying any close relative of his mother, e.g. custom would not allow him to marry a maternal cousin for at least three generations. There is an organized system of elopement with married women which is regarded as a legitimate form of marriage, the parents of the woman being usually privy to the elopement, and entitled to receive a bride-price. The first husband (as among the Katab, etc.) has no redress. Wives may not, however, be abducted from men of the same town as the abductor, i.e. a man of Kwoi may not abduct the wife of another man of Kwoi, but he may abduct the wife of a man of the villages of Nok, Sambam, Chori, Kurmin Musa, etc., or of some neighbouring tribe. It is even permissible to abduct a girl who is betrothed to some other man. It was stated that the fiancée could not demand any compensation.

The commission of adultery was regarded as a moral offence entailing trouble not merely on the households of those concerned but also on the entire town. It had to be wiped out by sacrifice. It was customary before war for all the warriors to collect, and if any had committed adultery he had to make a confession. The guilty parties were forced to drink a mixture of beer, excrement (human and canine), certain leaves, and some of a woman's monthly discharge. This was believed to purge the "dirt" of the adultery.

I had no opportunity of making satisfactory investigations on the subject of emblems associated with the social groups. But it appeared that the leopard was specially associated with the Madaki's ward, which is known as "the ward of the leopard". No member of the ward may kill a leopard, but leopards killed by other wards are brought to them and eaten ceremonially (by the members of Madaki's ward). Thus if members of the

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Chief's ward kill a leopard they bring the corpse to the sacred rock near the Madaki's ward and shout, "We have killed your son, come and bury him." Leaving the corpse on the rock, they run back home, for if they were caught by the Madaki men they would be charged with having murdered one of their number. The corpse is then taken to the sacred hut by the Madaki men who skin it, using their nails instead of a knife, which is taboo. It is eaten ceremonially by the grown-up men, young lads receiving merely some of the juice. The skin is thrown out and is appropriated later by those who had killed the leopard. All the members of Madaki's ward are believed to have the power of turning into leopards. Indeed, all the Jaba are believed by the neighbouring tribes to be wer-animals. It is said that there is a female society which exists for this purpose. The senior members prepare all corpses (male and female) for burial, and during the burial-rites parents hand over their daughters to be initiated into the wer-animal rites. These rites are carried out in the sacred grove where, incidentally, all snakes and fish in the river are respected, for they are believed to embody the souls of human beings.

The interesting rites by which Jaba boys are initiated into the mystery of the *ku* have already been fully described (see page 65).

The Jaba appear to have been worshippers of the Sun.

JABA (Kwoi dialect, per Garuba)

1. Head	ritsi	ɾitsi
2. Hair	khi	xi
2. Hair	xi	khi
3. Eye	sɥ	su
Two eyes	suko fani	sukɔ fani
4. Ear	zanto	zantõ
Two ears	zantõ ka fani	zantõ kɔ fani
5. Nose	fwik (i.e. bilabial f)	ɾwɥk (i.e. bilabial f)
6. One tooth	izhi wo zini	ɾʂi wo zmi
Five teeth	izhi yuto	ɾʂi juto (the t is palatalized)
7. Tongue	lem	lɛm
8. Neck	tô	tõ
9. Breast (woman's)	imbâ	ɪmbã
10. Heart	chu	tʃu
11. Belly	hwiya	hwija

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KAMANTAN
KAGORO
KAFANCHAN

TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN: AFFILIATIONS: CULTURAL DETAILS

The only account purporting to represent indigenous traditions of origin is Reynolds'; according to his information, Angan believe themselves to be Kagoro emigrants. Temple, on the other hand, calls the Kamantan tribe an " off-set " of the Kadara. Linguistic evidence seems to support Reynold's contention, nor has Meek alleged any particular connection with Kadara of Ankuwa (Kachia District), where he has done some research.[87] Whether any relationship, linguistic or otherwise, exists between Angan and other of their neighbours, such as Kagoma, Kuturmi or Koro, remains to be demonstrated.

So far as cultural affiliation with members of the Katab Group is concerned, " wife-stealing " is practised, as already noted, as well as affinal marriage, with widows of grandfather, father, and brother. Angan were also head-hunters and use the common Katab tribal markings. Meek's notes are not entirely clear on the subject of the *oyam* or in the matter of the distinctive Katab-type house; in his lists of tribes subscribing to these two traits he fails to name Kamantan but does not explicitly except it from the Katab Group on these counts (as he does Kagoma, on the count of the *oyam*, for example).

The Angan high god is called Shenya—conceivably cognate with Ashila of Kurama, though the hypothesis cannot be proved on the basis of any materials at present available. Meek notes the belief that pythons contain the souls of living men and may not therefore be killed; a python found dead is buried but may not be touched. He also found some indication of special respect for the rock coney (hyrax) at Ashin village—whether among members of both exogamous units, specifically stated to be not related, is not clear.

KAGORO (AGOLOK) AND KAFANCHAN

LOCATION: POPULATION

The great bulk of Kagoro (Hausa corruption of Agolok [*g* with lip-rounding] or Agwolok)[88] inhabit Kagoro Independent District of Zaria Province, administered through a tribal chief, and separate from Zaria Emirate.

Population (N.A. Census, 1949–50)	*Area*, Kagoro District (Census of 1930)	*Density*
12,966	66 square miles	196 per square mile

Of the total population of the District, 10,566 were Kagoro.[89] As regards density, Smith states that over a quarter of the area is a rocky massif and if arable land alone is considered the density is probably more like 300 per square mile.

Outside Kagoro Independent District, there is a sizeable Kagoro population only in Jema'a District, Jema'a Emirate-Division, Plateau Province, in territory immediately south of Kagoro District.

Population[90]	*Area*, Jema'a District (Census of 1930)	*Density*
19,917	676 square miles	29 per square mile

[87] According to one report, however, Ankuwa claims a Zonkwa origin (Kaje area), and " the dialect differs distinctly " from that of other Kadara (cf. Meek's information on Ankuwa's relation to Kaje and others, cited under Ikulu, above). Ankuwa is said to lie on the cultural boundary between Kadara and Kuturmi, it should be noted.

[88] Meaning uncertain. Rendered Aguro by Morwa, Agwot by Katab.

[89] In 1948–9, the Kagoro tribal figure was given as 9,258; in 1947–8, 8,999; showing a rise in population of approximately 14% and 3% respectively, or an average of 8.5%. The degree of accuracy represented in these figures is questionable.

[90] Total population, all tribes in District: the figure given here, presumably returned by an N.A. Census, was found entered in the Divisional Notes on Procedure, at Kafanchan, date uncertain, but possibly as recent as 1948. On the basis of the number of adult males returned by the N.A. Census of 1947–8 (7,466), and the ratio of adult males to the total population indicated by the Census of 1930 (about 34%), the figure seems quite reasonable for 1948.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

areas, Zonkwa and Zuturung, are reported to have contracted secondary marriages with wives of men in the other. 613

Baimbin: men of the drum: The six major lineages appear to be exogamous units at present; it is perhaps noteworthy that in Suryan Village-area only Kanakada is a composite hamlet, its residents divided between two major lineages. Baimbin section, that is, Suryan Village-area, is the "wife-stealing" unit. 614 582

Bainturung: settlers: Bainturung, which appears to be completely alien in origin, is composed of two maximal lineages, Amabat and Farman, with no tradition of kinship apart from extensive intermarriage. Originally the maximal lineages were the exogamous units, now the major lineages. Bainturung (Gidan Jatau Village-area) is the "wife-stealing" unit. The post of Village-area head is held by Farman.

Baintsoh: men of the little hill: Four of the six major lineages are to be found in Fadan Kaje Village-area, one predominating in each of the three constituent hamlets, and one divided between two of them. The remaining two are located in Fadiya Village-area, where in general the minor lineage corresponds to the hamlet. As regards the *atiyinhwap*, the two Village-areas constitute a single unit. In Fadan Kaje the head of the Village-area is chosen from a relatively senior minor lineage of the same major lineage as the *atiyinhwap;* in Fadiya from a junior minor lineage of the single Kaje lineage there (as opposed to the aboriginal, adopted lineage, at Kahon, in that Village-area).

Banchwan: men of the mountains: This is the most complex section, being composed of a number of wholly disparate units, of origins apparently as varied as those of the component parts of any other section of the tribe. Banchwan has two maximal lineages, Sokwap, restricted to the Kamuru Village-area (Kamurun Kaje); and Potwak, distributed among Marsa, Gidan Tagwai, and Afana Village-areas. Minor lineages appear to be localized; each major lineage within the section generally constitutes an exogamous unit. Each of the four Village-areas constitutes a separate "wife-stealing" unit.

Batadon: men of tadon: Batadon consists of eight component lineages. In general, each major lineage forms a single hamlet. Reynolds notes as apparently exceptional that *atiyinhwap* and *gado abwai* (*obwai* priest) are held by the same person. The major lineage is the exogamous unit here, as elsewhere. Secondary marriage units are not so clear-cut, indicating that perhaps the hamlet is in process of emerging as the "wife-stealing" unit.

It will be seen from the above accounts that primary marriage rules and the structure of sections would permit of sectional endogamy, whereas in a majority of cases secondary wives must be sought outside the section. Such wives may quite frequently be taken from neighbouring tribes (see also below). In war, Kaje differentiated between Kaje, Kagoma, Jaba of Kwoi, and Ikulu on the one hand and Kagoro, Kamantan, Katab, and Jaba of Kachia on the other. When war was resorted to a single minor lineage on both sides refrained from fighting, and in the end joined together to negotiate a settlement. 648

Totemism

According to Meek, there is apparently a tendency for the Village-area exogamous group to identify itself with a certain animal, but present-day evidence does not support this. Reynolds found persons admitting to "taboos" on animal species, but taboos inherited through the mother and not the father. It is therefore possible for all uterine members of a compound to have the same taboo, and the mother's female children give this taboo to their children.[114] 621 825

[114] Reynolds found similar matrilineal totemic groupings among Chawai, reported in *Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern Nigeria.*

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
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794 As suggested already, the *ku* cult, like the Katab *obwai*, appears to function as a device for the control of women. Even if held in some contempt by the initiated, privately, it apparently still looms large in the sum of religious beliefs of women and children, hence of the whole community. Bringing together Meek's account of initiation and Temple's account of the memorial feast at "the Magajin dodo's house" (almost surely a reference to the *ku* priest), it would appear that the Jaba *ku* cult is, paraphrasing Meek's description of the Katab *obwai*, "a public cult associated apparently with the private ancestral cult."

825 According to Meek, "all Jaba are believed by the neighbouring tribes to be wer-animals."[127] Members of the "Madaki's ward" of Kwoi, for example, are believed to have the power of turning themselves into leopards. No member of the ward may kill a leopard, and if members of, for example, the Chief's ward should kill one they bring the carcase to the sacred rock near the Madaki's ward and shout, "We have killed your son, come and bury him." They then run home, for if they were caught they would be charged with murder. The carcase is taken to the sacred hut by the Madaki men where it is ceremonially skinned, with the finger nails instead of a knife, which is taboo. It is eaten ceremonially by grown-up men, boys receiving some of the "juice." Meek did not discover any other specific associations between local and kin groupings and natural species. As has been noted above, under *Life Cycle*, girls are said to be "initiated into the wer-animal rites," but the passage describing this is not easy to interpret.

797 No investigator has commented on the influence of the single Protestant mission, long-established in the area, on indigenous religious beliefs, or on any other aspect of Jaba culture.

Kagoma

Location: Population: Affiliations

131 The bulk of the Kagoma "tribe" inhabits the Kagoma sector of the Kagoma-Yeskwa District, the westernmost district of Jema'a Emirate and Division, Plateau Province (see below).

162 361 103 The last available complete figures for the Kagoma of Jema'a date from 1934, when Mathews estimated the population of their sector at 6,126 pagans and 120 Moslems (who are likely to have been largely Hausa, Fulani, and Rumada). Their chief villages here appear to be Fadan Kagoma (seat of the Moslem District head), Asau (Aso), Gabi, Gigira, and Keya. There is a Kagoma salient in the Yeskwa sector of the District, along the Zaria border, centring about the village of Kwarabe. Also in the Yeskwa sector, along the unofficial boundary between the two sectors and east of Kwarabe, lie the villages of Kano, Kirti, and Kusan: these are apparently Kagoma in origin and if so no doubt still have a Kagoma population, but are classified nowadays by Administration as Jaba, having apparently received over the years numbers of immigrants from Jaba Independent District, Zaria Province, in search of farm-lands (on loan, according to Cole).[128] One village or hamlet of unknown size, Unguwar Dogo, lies immediately south of Jagindi, in Jema'a District. Kagoma settlements are to be found outside Plateau Province, beyond the border of Jaba District, in the vicinity of Kurya, and along the border of Yeskwa District in Benue Province near Gitata, with populations of 484 and 85 respectively. The total number of Kagoma may thus be as little as 7,000 at present.

161 133 Only Temple's figure for the area of Kagoma settlement—166 square miles—is available, making a density of population of 42 per square mile, perhaps an excessively low figure, since the Kagoma area is an extremely rugged one, broken by an 800-ft. escarpment, the southern half deeply cut by kurmi.

173 Traditions of origin seem to be lacking, though Mathews reports that Kagoma in the region of Kirti "say that they sprang from places in the hills near where they now live."

[127] Cf. in particular Butawa, farther above.
[128] Kwagiri in this same area is identified on Divisional maps at Kafanchan as Kaninkon.